

REMARQUES

On a Pamphlet intitled
Prudential Reasons

For Repealing

The Penal Laws

Against all Recusants;

And for a General

TOLERATION:

Penn'd by a Protestant Person of Quality.

*My Prophets are struck with awful dread,
Your bloody Comet laws hang blazing o're their head.*

Hind and Panther, p. 94.

When the famous Paolo Sarpi, Author of the History of the Council of Trent, was deir'd by one that knew his abilities, to impart to him such directions as might be useful in his study of Divinity, He gave him this general Rule, *that he should consult the Jesuits, and resolve the clean contrary to what they said.* Such an opinion of them many thinking men of this Nation seem

See the Appendix to
AB. Uthors
Letters, p. ✓

A

seem to have entertained, and have judged it a mark of Integrity and Wisdom, to act in a direct opposition to their Morals and Politiques.

This was one cause that their attempts of late did not make the impressions they expected : For however these Reverend Fathers were cover'd with power, yet their want of credit checkt their forward motions ; and their halte and impatience to see their designs successful rendred them abortive. The fiercenes of their temper push'd them into such invincible difficulties, as perhaps they might have avoided, to our cost, had they practis'd according to the flower methods of close and regular Vilany.

Yet furious as they were, they did not wholly neglect the Rules of Art, nor was their conduct without some mixture of finenes. *Hereticorum bella, pax Ecclesie*, was a Maxim laid down by a Brother of their Society ; and that they had a competent understanding of it may appear by their endeavours to engage Hereticks against Hereticks ; that when they were weakned by mutual opposition, both might become their easy prey.

They invit'd the Protestant Dissenters to their aid with all imaginable application, but found the wiser part of them distrustful of their words, which were smoother than Oyl. They could not prevail with them, to throw in to their mouths the luscious Morsel they desir'd, nor make them fond of the Priviledge of being last devour'd.

Others they warpt into a Servile compliance, and then Endeavour'd to keep up their hearts under a very shameful drudgery. For this purpose, variety of Pamphlets we're dispers'd through the Kingdom : And amongst the rest came out the Prudential Reasons, &c. By a Protestant Person of Quality : For so, by I know not what figure, he is pleased to call himself ; who is a man certainly of a peculiar temper, and distinguished by such an Air of assurance, as is not common.

But one is not inclin'd to believe every thing that is pronounced as an Oracle : On the contrary persons that are most assuring do but raise a suspicion of their performances ; as they that boast so much of their wonderful Elixirs, their Panacea's or universal Medicines, however they may gain some reputation amongst the Vulgar, are thought by the more intelligent to be Quacks or Impostors..

This

This Author pretends to shew what are the Symptoms of a diseas'd and crazy State, and what may prevent Convulsions in it: What relapses the humours in the Body Politick, &c what makes them eager and virulent: How it becomes replenis'd with malignities and then what danger innis in from Jogging and Stirring. But we that have seen the Body Politick thrown into dreadful distempers and agonies, by taking the doses, and observing the prescriptions, which he recommends, cannot have that opinion of his Skill which he seems to have entertain'd.

He fanci'd that he had found out the Interest of all Parties, and even that of the King and the Countrey. A matter certtainly of great importance! and lest we should think that being a Person of Quality, he arriv'd at the knowledge of this by the advantage he has had of an eminent Station, he hath taken care to inform us, that he never was of the Council, neither was he of the Parliament. So little consideration has been had of his Merit!

But now that we are satisfied, he is no Peer of the Realm, and that his condition in the World is not extraordinary, enquiry may still be made, how he came to be such a man of intrigue? And I find not that he, like a predecessor of his in the Politiques receiv'd any intelligence in Colchester Oysters, or from the Low-Countries in Cabages, on which he might build his discoveries: But the way he us'd is plain enough, now that he has made it publick; for he did but wipe his Eyes, and then he saw how the great affairs in debate might be adjusted. The Cecils and the Walsinghams might have seen as much, but they, good men! understood not this Mystery of Wiping their Eyes. The interests of all parties did not lie so deep under ground, as 'twas thought, yet did they not penetrate into them, because they were Mop't with prejudice and passion. But after all, I cannot attribute to this Prudentialist the glory of the first invention of what he advances, for it seems to be the very same with what was propos'd by Coleman, as a fit means of extirpating the Northern Heresy.

However, being thus Exalted in his opinion of New Light, he thought himself qualified to censure the Government of Queen Elizabeth, and he says that she gave Life and Birth to Laws of extreme Severity, against Roman Catholick and Puritan Recusants: And in another place having discours'd of the Barbarous Counsel suggested by Frier Hogstrate, he presently adds, that this Method was followed by Queen Elizabeth: And so parallels her proceedings

proceedings with the advice of that bloody wretch whom he calls *Lebizophel*. One has some pain to read reflections so odious, yet it cannot be deny'd, but they were prudentially tim'd and very fashionable, when they were made; for what was then the business of many pamphlets, but to blast the reputation of that admirable Queen, who, as a *great Prelate of the Roman Communion truly saies, *was one of the most Illustrious and Heroick Princesses that ever Reign'd, and govern'd her Kingdom with a better Conduct and Vigour than any of her Predecessors?*

It would be easie to defend her from the Aspersions that have been cast on her by malice or ingratitude, were it not that one is even opprest with the variety and lustre of those glorious Actions, which rendred her at once the Darling of her People, the Terror of her Enemies, and the Wonder of the World. But in answer to what has been objected against her, I think it sufficient to observe,

1. That she cannot be justly charged with Cruelty towards the Puritans: and for proof of this I refer the Reader to a Letter which Secretary Walsingham, their great Favourer, writ to *Marsion Critoy*: he may find it in Dr. Burne's excellent History of the Reformation, and in it such an account of the Kindness with which she sometimes us'd them, and of the Occasions they gave her afterwards to alter her meaures, as will justify her, I think, in the sense of any indifferent person.

2. As for the Papists, many of their Clergy have acknowledged, that, with respect to them, her *Laws and Proceedings*, were *mild and merciful*: and they justly ascribed the Severity which she sometimes thought necessary, to the provocations she receiv'd, and the Conspiracies in which their *Zealots* were engaged against her Person and Estate, as may appear by the Important Considerations, published by divers secular Priests, and other Testimonies collected by *Fouillie*. But 'tis no wonder, neither does it derogate from her Clemency, that she put some restraints on her Popish Subjects, when it became so visible that they design'd her destruction, and even *in Printed Books instigated her Servants to treat her as Judith did Holofernes. But to proceed with our Author:

He says, that King James would needs be her Successor, or so her methods

⁴ Hardwicke de
Prefixt Hist.
du Roy Hen.
Le Grand,
p. 306.

Part. 2. B. 3.
p. 418. Ed. 2.

Import. Confid.
Edit. Anno
1601. *Fouillie's Hist.* of
the Romish
Uincinations,
p. 42¹, 42²,
42³,
^{*} *Camd. Edit.*
Anno 1584.
p. 37³,

methods of Prudence, as well as to her Crown; which is very true: and that King esteem'd it a great honour to imitate her, who † as he tells us, governed her Kingdom with so great Wisdom and Policy, that she had not been read nor heard of since the days of Augustus. He vindicates her from the Reproaches which were cast on her by her Enemies, and shews that the punishments, they so much accus'd, were exerted from her by the manifold incendiary Troubles against the whole Kingdom, the Foreign Pri-
Epist. before Basil. Dar.
See K. James's
works, p.
252, 253.

ties, the Internal Publick Rebellions, Private Plot and Malcontents, Poyslings, Murders, and all sorts of Devices fomented by Rome: and he doubted not but in the Judgment of any impartial man, she must be as free from the Impulsion of Persecution, as the bellissè Instruments, which drew on them her Indignation, were from being Martyrs.

But however, in other things he yielded her the pre-eminence, yet he exceeded her, he says, in Clemency: and the Papists were not sharped, nor the number of his Enemies increas'd, by his Severity, as this Author pretends, but rather by the want of it: for he acquaints us, that many of his most faithful Subjects were cast into great fear and amazement at the course of his meritorious proceedings, and from thence prognosticated but sour fruit, which since shew'd it self clearly in the Powder Treason. So that if he needed an Apology, it was for an Excess of Lenity.

I need not examine his Censures of the two next succeeding Reigns: it may appear from what has been said, what profound Researches he has made into Affairs of State, and how fit he is to be critical on them. But rigid as he is, he hath his fits of Complaisance, and to shew what a man he can be at Panegyrike, when a Prudential Reason puts him into a good humour, he thought fit to tell us, That the King had a clearer Pro-
See the E-
pistle.

tection of his own and of his Kingdom Interests, than any of his Royal Predecessors ever had, and that he perferv'd in virtue that conduct and vigor which did correspond with the Miracles that preserv'd the Crown for him; and also him both for the Crown, and for a Glory greater than that of wearing Crowns, to wit, to be the Reformer of Religion & Liberty and Freedom of Exercise. This is very lofty, and it puts me in mind of an expression in Tatius, *Pessimam inimicorum genitum laudantes*; and I think Princes have not greater Enemies than fawning Parasites, who take care, not to convey to them a true Representation of their Affairs, but only such as is agreeable.

But

But let us see what he advances in this pang of Zeal for the King; or, to use some of his own words, let us speculate on the Prudentialness of what he emits, p. 8. where he tells us, it was the *just expectation of all the World, that H. M. should procure Freedom of Exercise for the Roman Catholick Religion*; and if he could not effect this with the Consent of his People, it would much eclipse the glory of his Character abroad. This is pretty modest! and 'tis an Argument of his Prudentialness, that he told us not plainly, that to increase the glory of *H. M.* and to enlarge his figure abroad, all his Subjects ought to have embraced his Religion, to which they might easily have been brought, had they been of the mind of some Loyal Addressers of famous memory, who promis'd to pay him an *unlimited Obedience, and expressed their Inclinations* to satisfy his Demands without articling with him.

*Tom. 2. Let. 3.
p. 299.*

The Author of the Apology for *Catholicks*, as I find him cited in the General Critique on *Maimbourg's History of Calvinism*, spake much more honestly, and declar'd, that 'tis a signal injury to Princes, to attribute to them this thought unworthy of Christians, and even of honest Pagans, that what they command, whether it be *just* or *unjust*, ought blindly to be done: and certainly, if they are Wise and good, they must needs abhor that incense which is offer'd to them at the expence of the Deity, from which they derive their Authority. Kings are then great enough, when they acknowledge no Superior but God, and pay Him all the Honour that is due unto His Name. They are then formidable abroad, when they reign at home in the affections of their Subjects: for as my Lord *Burleigh* long since observ'd, *to win Hearts is the way to gain Hands and Purse*.

I can take no pleasure to reflect on his Majesties loss of the Hearts of many of his Subjects, nor to dwell on the circumstances of his Calamities: but since 'tis commonly known that it was a mighty Zeal for his Religion that imbroil'd his affairs, I shall onely farther observe, that 'tis no wonder he made such large steps to promote that Religion, if he believed, what this worthy Protestant suggests, that when he open'd the Romish Chappels, and endeavour'd to establish Popery by a Law, he did but *satisfie the just expectation of all the World*.

I know not how he came to be acquainted with the expectation of all the World: but 'tis plain enough, that the Papists themselves, credulous as they were, did not believe that a free Parliament

*See Sir Robert
Cott. Posthum.
p. 315.*

Parliament would answer their ends: and it was easy for others to see, that Persons of Condition, like to be Members of that Illustrious Body, were generally sensible how much those nice and tender things, call'd Liberty and Property, were indanger'd by the approaches and growth of Popery. It might well be thought, they would not be willing to transform *England* into such a Beast, as had been so Tame and Patient under the greatest burthens, in the days of Catholick ignorance: or to leave their Estates and Fortunes to the Mercy and Devotion of shorn Crownes.

It might also reasonably be expected, that they should employ their endeavours to preserve in this land the true Worship, when others were so industrious to promote that which is erroneous and idolatrous, and consequently that they would not pull down the hedges, which with such vast expence, were rais'd to secure the Reformed Religion, nor throw up our Laws in a compliment, when we had most need of them.

But this Author is offended at these Laws, because they represent his Catholicks as so *criminal and ill a sort of Men*, and of *principles so very bad, that the utmost severity against them is little enough*; and he thought none could believe them to be such; but they must make a forfeiture of the Reverence and Allegiance they ow'd to the King. And here 'tis observable that as he would be thought to have a great regard of his Allegiance to the King, whose conduct he so admires and Celebrates, so according to his way of arguing, he must be free from that ill opinion of the Kings Religion, which the Makers and Affertors of the Laws entertain'd. But when he would persuade us that the Laws ought to be abrogated, because they cast such ill reflections on Popery and keep up our detestation of it; he may be pleas'd to know that the Nation is not dispos'd to buy favorable thoughts of it at that rate, or to part with every thing that represents it as a very hateful Religion.

The Holy Scripture represents it so hateful, that the Prelates assembled at Bononia by the order of Pope *Julius 3.* advis'd his Holiness, that this was a *Book quite repugnant to their doctrine, a Book that above all others rais'd the Storms and Tempests, which had almost driven them to destruction.* They were also much offended at the studies of Greek and Hebrew, and of the Ancient Fathers, and they might have proceeded to condemn sense and reason for their Heretical informations: but we do not think our selves obliged,

See their Advice printed
at London
Anno 1588.
p. 27, 28, 29.

obliged, to reject the divine Oracles or the languages in which they were delivered: we think it not necessary to suppress the primitive writers, or to put out our Eyes or our understandings; because they keep up our aversion from Popery. Neither have we any reason to complain of the Learned Sermons, and Printed Books that have opos'd and baffled it, or of the Test that excludes the Professors of it, from Offices and Places of Trust; and if this cast an ill reflection on them, we could wish they had not deserved it; but we beg their excuse, that we cannot shift our Opinions of them at their pleasure, or imitate the Prudentialnes of their Advocate, who perhaps is not disinterested enough to give any reputation to their Cause.

Upon the whole I cannot find, that he hath acquitted himself either as it became a Person of Quality, or a Protestant: For
 p. 2. It might have been expected that a Person of Quality would have treated Parliaments with more respect. It seems not very decent to represent them as mopt with passion and prejudice, or influenced by an impotent fury: As Cruel and Partial in their determinations, and that when the mighty affairs of Religion and Liberty, of Estates and Lives lay before them. Yet the description he gives of their proceedings amounts to thus much, and I know not whether it be so applicable to the *Divay at Agiers*, or any other *Cabal* of Villains, as it is to the Holy Inquisition and other Catholick Courts of Justice.

That I have not injur'd him in what has been said, will be manifest from what I come now to relate. He says that *all the burthensome Laws about Religion that from time to time have been enacted in our English Parliaments against Recusants, have something in them of violent, inequitable and extravagant*.

p. 2. He was not content to load them with an ill name; to call them the two-handed tools of Convention and Faction, and to cry, away with them; as if he could huff them out of the World: but he tells us, *they were all made in a passion of state and only to humor the times*. One cannot but admire the hardines of the man, or think that he had not wif't his Eyes, when he adventur'd to cast such reproaches on the Great Councils of the Kingdom, so fam'd for their Wisdom and Justice. But it was become the interest of some that there

p. 4. should be no more Parliaments, or else that they should be rendered very despicable, which might easily be effected, if it could be prov'd that their Acts from time to time about things of

of the greatest moment, were *Praudent, Inequitable and Extravagant*. They would be thought very unfit to make Laws for others, when themselves are govern'd by passion : for as Aristotle says in his Politicks, "νόμον μηδέποτε οὐδείς φύει. A Law is a Mind unbias'd by passion. He also tells us, that *Lust is a kind of Beast, and that Anger perverts Magistrates and persons of the greatest eminence.* So that I know not what great good can be expected from them, if they are directed, not by prudent and deliberate counsels, but by indignation and a brutal rage.

Arist. Pol.
L. 3. sicc. 103.

But tho' I cannot find that this Author hath maintained the Character of a Person of Quality, yet I deny not that he was projecting to be one : for to do his prudentialness right, he seems to have mixt the promising means of greatness. Sir James Melville gives this account of himself, that if he had minded his own advancement and profit, he should have suggested to the Queen, that if shee descended to acq[ui]esce in the Establishement of the Reformed Religion, it would be constru'd a meane[s] of Spirit, and that shee wanted Authority to ambiue such a mutinous People, that it was below her at the arrogant desire of her Nobility, and to remove the Jealousies of her other Subjects, to lay aside Riccio, as being derogatory from her honour, that shee could not have liberty so to keep about her what Servants shee pleas'd : seeing hence there might be ground to alledge, there were other bad designs to follow, when in the first place they desir'd to separate from her such as they knew would be most trusty to her, and in whom shee could most confide. This kind of language, he says, would probably have most suised her Majesties humour, and would have procured him great Bribes from her Italian Favrite and his Popish Friends. Yet he professes that such was his integrity, that he declin'd those thriving methods. But our prudentialist is not so nice and scrupulous : for he intimates, as we have seen, that the King in his attempts to give freedom of Exercise to Popery, did but answer the just expectation of all the World : that if the Parliament would not confirm it, they were Enemies to his Honour, and would eclipse his Glory : that the Penal Laws occasion'd ill reflections on him, by representing Papists such a Criminal sort of Men as none could believe them to be, who preserv'd any love and reverence or allegiance for him. He also intimates that it would have been a *Solcism, a very odd thing*

See the Epit.
before his
Memoirs.

See p. 8,9.
and

and a self condemnation, for the King to have punish'd the publick exercise of that Religion which himself approv'd and avow'd. But if he could not repeal the Laws, whether His-Majesty was then obliged to require his Judges to act against them, and the Oaths they had taken : or whether his Royal Prerogative might cancel the obligation of the Laws he hath not told us. Yet he seems most inclin'd to the last, for he extols the late Dispensation and tells what mighty feats it had done. He pretends, it was received with such approbation, that it charm'd down all the Idle Stories of Prophecies and Prodigies : that it silenced all murmurs, and recovered trade to a wonder, which lay gassing for life before. Now this may be true of the trade of making Images and other Trinkets, of selling Pardons, or buying Converts : But such as had been conversant in other Trades, complain'd more than ever. There appear'd also in the Nation a general dissatisfaction, and nothing was thought safe, when a power to dispence with Laws that secure our Rights, was asserted and magnified. But the Prudential men, who had so great a share in hastning our miseries, thought fit to keep this from the knowledge of him who had power to redress the grievances of the Nation.

2. We are yet at a greater loss for the Protestant than we have been for the Person of Quality. However, it were not necessary to make Enquiry under what denomination he ought to be consider'd, but that he seems to have usurpt one to which he has no Right, that he might give a taking Colour to his Proposals. * An Ingenious Author gives this Character of Gregorio Leti, that he hath exactly observ'd this Maxim, *that in a History there is no need one should know the Religion of the Historian.*

* Auteur de la Critique Gén. Critique Gén. 10th.

But this man in the front of his work proclaims himself a Protestant, and yet may find some difficulty to gain a belief that he is one, because his Book seems to combat his title, and to give better indications of his inward sense and inclinations than that glorious name he assum'd.

We have seen his Endeavours to take off the *odium* of Popery. But he mentions the Reformation as a thing that was apt to infect ; as if it had been some contagious disease. And however he dare not approve the Counsel that was given by Friser Hugostrate

Hogostrate to destroy it, yet he intimates, that if Chains and Fire had been apply'd at the beginning, as the only proper remedy, this course probably would for ever have prevented it. For, as he observes, in such cases the quickest and severest Remedies seem the best, because they Eradicate.

But since the season of Eradicating the Reformation is past, and since the disease is become so Epidemical, he thinks it does not indicate burning or bleeding. The Fire and Sword are only proper Remedies when they can Eradicate. And we thank his Prudentialnes, that we may be suffered to live and breath, when his Catholick friends want power to extirpate us.

I deny not that he thought it expedient to express a little tendernes for Dissenters, whom he calls Fanaticks, but that this was forced and artificial, may appear when the true secret of it comes to be considered. In the mean time, he seems not to have consulted their reputation, when he parallel'd their case with that of Barrow and others, who as he tells us, were hanged as Felons, or where he insinuates that in the time of King Charles 2. they join'd in the cry against the growth of Popery; not out of zeal for Religion, but out of a sense of Revenge, and from that of interest. He is willing, however, they should have a share of the indulgence, for which he pleads, because otherwise his Catholicks could not long think to enjoy their Toleration, it would become so invidious, and such a Subject of Clamor and general Scandal, p. 9. But I wonder his Masters would suffer him to discover this Mystery: For what he saies imports thus much, that the great busines of Popery could not be carried on prosperously, unless it were supported by some Protestants, who yet might be thrown aside with as much contempt as their Brethren, when they had perform'd the work which was cut out for them.

p. 6.

p. 3.

But since so many persons of worth and Eminence have engaged their Endeavours to procure a *due liberty* for Dissenters, I doubt not but hereafter they may receive it upon more honourable terms than formerly. But what is most desirable is, that there may be such a mutual condescension, that Protestants, at present differing only in circumstances, may be united in the same.

these Communion: For this would have all the benefit of Federation, without any of its disadvantages. And however this Author wonders that the World should be so fond of Uniformity in the Externals of Religion, I am still of S. Pauls Judgment, that we ought to glorify God with one heart and one mouth; to speak the same thing; that there be no division among us; and to Endeavour to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

FINIS.

Licensed January 26. 1689.

LONDON Printed by Samuel Smith at the Prince's
Arms, in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1689.

